

## JORDAN STANDS AT THE FRONT LINE OF COMBATING TERRORISM

BY

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by

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## **ABSTRACT**

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The history of terrorism can be traced back through history. Terrorism does not respect boundaries, sovereignty or religion. This is one of the most heinous crimes against humanity.

The 9/11 catastrophe was a watershed event with far-reaching global implications. International terrorism, in all its forms and manifestations, was seen more clearly as a global threat.

Jordan has experienced different kinds of terrorism throughout its history, and the Jordanian experience may provide important insights of the best ways to fight terrorism. As member of the international campaign against terrorism, Jordan is playing an active role in the United States led Global War on terror.

This paper examines the causes, current terrorist threat level and methods of combating terrorism. It focuses on Jordanian policy and strategy for combating terrorism including legal, diplomatic, and security efforts. It also specifically analyzes the implications for the region and suggests short and long term measures for peace in the region. A key conclusion is that Jordan has developed innovative ways to oppose terrorism and that it is a key player in the ongoing struggle against terrorism.



## JORDAN STANDS AT THE FRONT LINE OF COMBATING TERRORISM

Terrorism is not a new phenomenon. It has existed for centuries but has never been felt more painfully than during the later part of the 20<sup>th</sup> century and in current times. Maybe it is due to the shrinking of the world because of globalization and cyber revolution, which has exposed many facts craftily, which were hidden from the world.

Terrorism in history is recorded as way back as 66 AD and 70 AD when Sicarri Zealots, rose against the Romans in Palestine due to the atrocities committed by the Romans. They adopted the strategy of “pure terror”, to cause panic and fear. They carried out broad daylight attacks, targeting government officials and Romans supporters. Other examples of old terrorist groups are of the Irish Fenians, American Ku Klux Klan and Narodnaya Volya of Russia.<sup>1, 2, 3</sup>

In recent times, that is the 20<sup>th</sup> Century until today; terrorism exists or has existed all over the globe in places like Japan, the Philippines, Thailand, Malaysia, Sri Lanka, India, Pakistan, Afghanistan, Middle East, Palestine, Europe, and North, Central and South America.<sup>4</sup> In 1968 there were eleven terrorists groups, none having religious affiliations.<sup>5</sup> In 2004 there were seventy seven US designated terrorist groups, out of which almost half had some religious affiliation.<sup>6</sup>

Terrorism simply is an act of violence, which is well planned, has a political motive and it targets the civilians,<sup>7</sup> or words like, ‘indiscriminately targets non-combatants’ have been used.<sup>8</sup> It has also been defined as “[v]iolent criminal behavior designed primarily to generate fear in the community, or a substantial segment of it, for political purposes”.<sup>9</sup>

Terrorism has been described both as a tactic and strategy; a crime and a holy duty; a justified reaction to oppression and an inexcusable abomination. However, all acts of terrorism may have common objectives but reasons to achieve those ends may be different. Paul Wilkinson has categorized terrorism into four types:

- Criminal – It is planned use of terror for financial and material gain.
- Psychic – This means magical beliefs, myths and superstitions induced by fanatical religious beliefs.
- War – Terrorism is complete destruction of enemy by whatever means.
- Political – It is a systematic use of violence and fear to achieve political objectives.<sup>10</sup>

The word terror came with the French revolution when the state used extreme measures between 1793 -1797 and was referred to as “terror from above”.<sup>11</sup> So, it is well understood that a state can be a terrorist state but, it is difficult to define it, if it is part of a legal anarchic world system. However, the reality cannot be denied.

In today's world, a number of terrorist movements are ongoing but it is important to know that a few numbers of these terrorist acts are never acknowledged, as they are committed by those who are strong enough to crush its recognition.

The deadliest terrorist attacks to date were the 9-11 attacks against the United States when al-Qaeda hijacked four American airplanes in a suicide mission, crashing two into the World Trade Center towers, one into the Pentagon, with the fourth one was brought down in rural Pennsylvania. Shortly after these attacks, US president George W. Bush declared a global war on terrorism in 2001.

The causes of violence, terrorism and extremism are diverse; sometimes all of these diverse elements combine with one another and may emerge in a single individual or a group. The emergence of violence, terrorism and extremism, in turn, may have a destabilizing effect on the community's sense of psychological safety, which is one of the most important needs of all mankind. Possessing a comprehensive in-depth knowledge of the psychological, social, political, economic, educational, and intellectual causes is the key to understanding and thus defeating terrorism in the long term.

Jordan announced that it is an integral part of the international system to face terrorism. Jordan has consistently expressed its condemnation of all forms of terrorism and stands ready to cooperate with the international community to combat this phenomenon. The Jordanian leadership also believes that terrorist acts run counter to the religious values of civilized human ideologies. Additionally, Amman has underlined the importance of combating terrorism everywhere without any kind of double standards.

Jordan was also a victim of terrorism, and many innocent Jordanian citizens as well as members of its security forces have been the victims of terrorism. In its efforts to fight terrorism Jordan has closed the doors on terrorist financing and money laundering, and has taken steps to improve its educational system in ways that underscore the unacceptability of terrorism. In addition, the Jordanian government is implementing economic reforms so that it can effectively monitor the money flows to and from Jordanian banks, charities, and other institutions.

## Definition of Terrorism

There is no official definition of terrorism agreed upon by all countries in the world. The definitions of some organizations, institutions and countries tend to rely heavily on who is defining terrorism and for what purpose. Some definitions focus on terrorist tactics to define the term, while others focus on the actor. Yet others look at the context and ask if it is military or not. We will probably never arrive at a perfect definition upon which we can all agree, although there is consensus on characteristics such as violence or threatening violence. Indeed, the primary defining quality of terrorism may be the fact that it invites argument, since the label "terrorism" or "terrorist" arises when there is a disagreement over whether an act of violence is justified (and those who justify it label themselves "revolutionaries" or "freedom fighters," etc.). So, in one sense, it may be fair to say that terrorism is exactly violence (or the threat of violence) in context where there will be disagreement over the use of that violence. But this does not mean that no one has tried to define terrorism! In order to prosecute terrorist acts, or distinguish them from war and other violence that is condoned, national and international institutions, as well as others, have sought to define the term. Here are some of the most frequently cited definitions.

The U.S. Department of Defense defines terrorism as: "the calculated use of unlawful violence or threat of unlawful violence to inculcate fear; intended to coerce or to intimidate governments or societies in the pursuit of goals that are generally political, religious, or ideological."<sup>12</sup> Within this definition, there are three key elements—violence, fear, and intimidation—and each element produce terror in its victims. The FBI uses this definition: "Terrorism is the unlawful use of force and violence against persons or property to intimidate or coerce a government, the civilian population, or any segment

thereof, in furtherance of political or social objectives."<sup>13</sup> The U.S. Department of State defines terrorism to be "premeditated politically-motivated violence perpetrated against non-combatant targets by sub-national groups or clandestine agents, usually intended to influence an audience." <sup>14</sup>

Outside the United States government, there are greater variations in what features of terrorism are emphasized in definitions. The United Nations produced this definition in 1992: "An anxiety-inspiring method of repeated violent action, employed by (semi-) clandestine individual, group or state actors, for idiosyncratic, criminal or political reasons, whereby - in contrast to assassination - the direct targets of violence are not the main targets."<sup>15</sup> The British government definition of 1974 " the use of violence for political ends, and includes any use of violence for the purpose of putting the public, or any section of the public, in fear."<sup>16</sup> The Arab Convention for the Suppression of Terrorism was adopted by the Council of Arab Ministers of the Interior and the Council of Arab Ministers of Justice in Cairo, Egypt in 1998. Terrorism was defined in the convention as:" Any act or threat of violence, whatever its motives or purposes, that occurs in the advancement of an individual or collective criminal agenda and seeking to sow panic among people, causing fear by harming them, or placing their lives, liberty or security in danger, or seeking to cause damage to the environment or to public or private installations or property or to occupying or seizing them, or seeking to jeopardize a national resources".<sup>17</sup> The absence of an agreed definition of terrorism has allowed some countries, to apply a double standard by refusing to distinguish between the right of peoples to resistance and terrorism.

### Terrorist Attacks against Jordan

Jordan has faced and is still facing a number of threats targeting its security, stability and economic welfare, due to its moderate political stands, the nature of its political system and its tolerant approach to political opposition forces. That was clarified on December 02, 2005 when His Majesty King Abdullah II, King of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, during an address to the parliamentary session said:

We do realize that Jordan's location, its message and positions are the reasons that it was targeted and that these attacks impose upon it the largest security challenges to ever confront it.<sup>18</sup>

Jordan suffered from terrorism since its early days designed to pressure it to change its political stands which are characterized by moderately and rationality in unstable area torn by extremism. Terrorists struck at our national symbols, our citizens and our interests. Nothing can clarify this more than Jordan's loss of its founder His Majesty King Abdullah bin al-Hussein to terrorism.<sup>19</sup> If his vision for regional peace had been implemented, the area would then have been saved from the agony of four wars and thousands of lost lives and displaced persons. It also could have been saved from huge economic losses that could have been used for the benefit of reviving the area and directing efforts to develop it.

Jordan security and stability was threatened by leftist terrorist organizations in the 1960's, and such organization helped to inspire the Jordanian civil war in 1970-71.<sup>20</sup> Jordan has also lost two prime ministers (Haza'a Al-Majali and Wasfi Al-Tal) as victims of terrorism, which also targeted Jordanian citizens, internal institutions, embassies, diplomats and interests abroad.<sup>21</sup>

Most recently Jordan has faced challenges from radical Islamists including members of al-Qaeda,<sup>22</sup> and the main terrorist figure of these members was Abu Musab

al-Zarqawi, a Jordanian by birth, and also had a long history of terrorist activities in Jordan. Zarqawi's organization was involved in the October 2002 murder of Laurence Foley, a U.S diplomat in Amman, although Zarqawi himself was not in Jordan that time.<sup>23</sup> Unsurprisingly, Zarqawi was quickly identified as the mastermind behind the August 7, 2003 truck bomb attack against the Jordanian Embassy in Iraq that left 18 dead and 57 wounded.<sup>24</sup> Zarqawi was responsible for an elaborate 2004 plot to attack Jordan's General Intelligence Directorate, the Prime Minister's office, and the U.S. Embassy in Amman with three trucks laden with 20 tons of explosives and toxic chemicals. Such an attack could have killed 80.000 people,<sup>25</sup> On August 19, 2005 terrorists fired three Katyusha rockets at U.S. naval vessels using the Jordanian port of Aqaba. All these rockets missed the U.S. warship, but one Jordanian soldier was killed and another wounded.<sup>26</sup> Two al-Qaeda affiliates separately claimed responsibility for the attack. These were Zarqawi's group and the Abdullah al-Azzam Brigade of al-Qaeda in the Levant and Egypt.<sup>27</sup>

The most serious al-Qaeda terrorist strike in Jordan came in November 9, 2005 with nearly simultaneous suicide bombings directed against three large Western chain hotels in Amman. These were the Radisson SAS, the Grand Hyatt, and the Days Inn hotels. Only four Americans and two Israelis were killed in the attack despite being the professed terrorist targets. The majority of the victims were attending a wedding party at the Radisson SAS for a Jordanian couple of Palestinian origins.<sup>28</sup> The bride's father and nine other family members died in the attack. More people might have been killed had a fourth suicide bomber been able to blow herself up in the attack on the Radisson. This woman's explosive suicide belt failed to detonate, and she was apprehended by

Jordanian police attempting to flee the scene.<sup>29</sup> Elsewhere in Amman, Palestinian Authority Lieutenant General Basher Nafe, the head of West Bank security, was killed in the Grand Hyatt hotel explosion.<sup>30</sup> The internationally known film director, Mustafa Akkad, along with his daughter, was also killed at the Radisson SAS hotel.<sup>31</sup>

Jordan is facing more security challenges because it has been affected by the security situation in Iraq, and the danger of increased terrorism spreading from Iraq into Jordanian territory. A large number of Iraqi refugees in Jordan, around 400,000 Iraqis were living there just prior to the invasion<sup>32</sup>. This figure had swelled to between 700,000 and one million by mid-2007.<sup>33</sup> In May 2007 King Abdullah stated that the number was around 750,000, but this was basically an informed guess that is now dated.<sup>34</sup> The refugee population is therefore a large group among whom terrorists may hide.

#### Jordan's Role in Fighting Terrorism

Fighting against terrorism requires steps that will affect international relations and the principles of the states since the founding of the United Nations and the adoption of its Charter. To fight terrorism a country should have a clear strategy to follow, and act upon the necessity to use all the instruments of power and legal means at its disposal.

Jordan's position has been steadfast in denouncing all forms of terrorism. On November 10th, 2005, His Majesty King Abdullah II, in a speech addressed to the Nation saying:

Jordan does not bow to coercion. We will not be intimidated into altering our position, nor will abandon our convictions or forfeit our role in the fight against terrorism in all its forms. To the contrary, every act of terrorism strengthens our resolve to adhere to our convictions, and to confront with all means at our disposal, those who seek to undermine the security and stability of the country.<sup>35</sup>

Jordan strongly condemned 9/11 terrorist attacks in New York and Washington. On November 8th, 2001, His Majesty King Abdullah in a speech addressed to the Houses of Parliament of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, reaffirmed Jordan's stance on terrorism and especially 9/11 attacks on the U.S. saying:

As a human being, as a father, as a Jordanian, and most of all as a Muslim what happened on that day was evil. As human beings, we condemn that attack absolutely. And as a civilized nation, Jordan stands shoulder to shoulder, with the world community in the fight.<sup>36</sup>

Jordan has condemned all acts of terrorism and joined the world community in fighting it. The Jordanian government has continuously reaffirmed its commitment to combating terrorism and responded positively to requests for concrete action in support of Coalition efforts against terrorists. Jordanians believe that counterterrorism requires using all tools available. The tools that appear to be applicable are: diplomacy, criminal law, the provision of information, education, economics, military power, and social factors. Many actions have been taken by the Jordanian government in each of these areas. Jordan has consistently condemned and fought terrorism in all its forms using all tools available to it. It will continue to be committed to fighting terrorism and not allowing the use of its territory as a base for any terrorist activities no matter their target or source.

In light of all of this, Jordan has called for all countries to take a firm stand against terrorism and to join efforts to fight it while refusing to use it as a means to achieve political objectives. Jordan has continued to condemn categorically all forms and practices of terrorism in a consistent and clear position. The continuation of the approach adopted by Jordan to reject terrorism and the need to deal with it as an international problem requires a concerted international effort. Since Jordan is a key

regional country which has suffered the scourge of terrorism and its consequences, its leadership has repeatedly stressed the need to fight terrorism and find a mechanism to ensure the success of international efforts to eliminate the sources of terrorist funding, training and practice. Amman supports international cooperation to coordinate efforts in the fight against terrorism and refused to allow the passage or use of Jordanian land, air and water to the terrorist targets identified by the Jordanian government. Jordan has stressed over the years the importance of research into the reasons for the spread of terrorism such as poverty, ignorance and despair and frustration. Jordan has emphasized the exchange of security information and the need to take punitive measures against countries that support terrorism.

The Jordanian government confirmed that it will not tolerate any member of a terrorist organization working to threaten its security and stability and global peace and security. Jordan in its efforts to combat terrorism has stressed the need to respect the provisions of the U.N Charter and international law and infringing upon the sovereignty of States, the balance between measures taken by the State and the principles of human rights and public freedoms. Jordan's policy is aimed at finding a clear and specific legal definition of terrorism and the concept of terrorist groups so as not to allow any legal loophole which justify committing acts of terrorism.

The importance of fighting against international terrorism does not mean discrimination against a particular religion and should not be a mask for an attack on religious beliefs. Jordan played a great role in the cooperation with the international community in addressing the causes that lead to the knowledge of the roots of this phenomenon in order to succeed in combating it. Jordan has taken concrete steps in

fighting terrorism at the national legislative level, practical security measures, and international conventions and treaties on combating terrorism.

*National Legislation.* An amended penal law emphasized and increased the punishment on any act deemed to be an act of terrorism. It penalized individuals that seek to establish groups and gangs with the aim of conducting criminal and terrorist acts. It also emphasized, that those who assist these groups financially or with weaponry will receive the same sentence and punishment by law. Furthermore, stricter border controls were introduced, and a new Jordanian customs law granted customs officers' increased authority to investigate and handle any illicit weapon trafficking and other bombs smuggling that could benefit terrorists.<sup>37</sup>

*Operational Procedures.* In the wake of the UN Security Council resolutions on counter-terrorism, the Jordanian government has taken a series of operational procedures for the application of these international resolutions in the fight against terrorism as described below.

Jordan has embraced many instructions and security measures to combat terrorism. These efforts including requirements that the Jordanian security services follow-up the elements that constitute a threat to the security of the country as well as persons having links with any terrorist group or activity, or elements that are suspected of being linked to the illegal weapons trade. Such procedures will be accomplished through the use of intelligence, using appropriate means of tracking and prosecution, activating early warning systems, the exchange of information through follow-up of everyone who has links to any terrorist group in other countries, and the exchange of information with the security services of friendly countries.

Jordan has taken several important domestic security measures. Instructions were delivered to all banks operating in the Kingdom to comply with UNSC resolutions pertaining to combating terrorism, and specifically to freeze funds and financial transactions. Instructions were correspondingly issued to check suspicious bank accounts and freeze them according to the request of the government in compliance with U.N Security Council Resolution 1373.<sup>38</sup> Additional instructions were issued to combat money laundering. New types of passports and national identity cards were issued in line with international standards in order to prevent fraud. The security apparatus in Jordan is following closely all activities in the country that may relate to terrorism. It maintains a high degree of transparency and cooperation with friendly states and organizations including Interpol. Intelligence data is constantly being exchanged with many countries like Iraq, to facilitate combating terrorism.<sup>39</sup>

There are also several bilateral security cooperation agreements in force. Strict measures have been introduced to monitor any transactions that include the purchase of materials used in making explosives. Jordan takes all necessary measures to prevent the entry of terrorists and those affiliated with terrorist organizations into its territory. Jordan's reports submitted to the U.N Counter Terrorism Committee (CTC) in pursuance to Resolution 1373 (2001): 1st Report 2002 and 2nd Report 2003.<sup>40</sup>

The Jordanian General Intelligence Directorate (GID) has implemented certain arrangements to exchange information concerning security with friendly countries especially the United States on the basis of their mutual interest in countering terrorist threats. The GID has a number of wide range achievements in this field. This vigilance has produced results. In February 2006 Jordan's security forces disrupted an al-Qaida-

linked cell plotting to attack Queen Alia International Airport in Amman. On yet another occasion, Jordanian security forces quickly apprehended Nabil Ahmed Issa al-Jaaourah, a Jordanian citizen after he shot and killed a British tourist and injured five tourists from the Netherlands, Australia, and New Zealand, and a Jordanian tourist police officer at Amman's Roman Amphitheater.

Jordan played a wide role in the region combating terrorism by aiding friendly countries within the region. Known as the heart of the Middle East, it is no wonder Jordan is emerging as a leader and an important partner in the fight against terrorism. Jordanian Special Operations Forces are known for their skills and abilities in counterterrorism throughout the Middle East, and the nation wants to be known as the region's leader in training special operations troops. In April 2002, Jordan sent a special forces training unit to Yemen to assist U.S. military instructors training the Yemani military to fight terrorist groups in that country.<sup>41</sup>

Jordan's centralized location is significant to friendly nations' armies because they can train in the heart of the Middle East. Countries in the Middle East are becoming actively engaged in counterterrorism with their own special operations forces. Jordan is able to assist in this endeavor thanks to U.S. support including financial backing for the creation of the King Abdullah Special Operation Training Center (KASOTC).<sup>42</sup> The center plays a vital role in combating terrorism, locally, regional, and global levels. It is designed to help improve the military skills of Arab students attending courses there.<sup>43</sup> It will provide the valuable resource for training Special Forces of the Jordanian military, police and other civil and paramilitary organizations. On a much larger scale, the center will meet cross-training standards for hosting joint-operations training with allies and can

prepare units for peacekeeping operations under the United Nations auspices. In this regard, all specialty equipment, target systems, range equipment, automation and simulation technology are up to current U.S. standards.<sup>44</sup> KASOTC enhanced regional theater security interoperability and strengthens multi-national counterterrorism capability. The center is available to allied forces for exercises and training, providing a common venue for those being trained to share combat experiences and address evolving terrorist tactics, techniques and procedures. The center's training curriculum is also enhancing counter-proliferation, consequence management and civil defense capabilities.

Jordan remains a key and valuable partner in the fight against violent extremists and contributes significantly to regional stability, security, counter-terror training, and hosts major initiatives for developing security capabilities. Jordan's Peace Operations Training Center has provided more military leaders and soldiers with valuable cultural awareness and language training. Meanwhile, the Jordanian International Police Training Center has provided training. Jordanian peace keeping forces support the same missions as U.S. troops, such as in Afghanistan.<sup>45</sup>

Jordan also had a key role in hunting down the terrorist leader Abu Musab al-Zarqawi. U.S. and Jordanian intelligence officials had been tracking the movements of Zarqawi associate Abdul-Rahman and the courier-whom Jordanian intelligence refers to as Mr. X-for weeks. Jordan's GID set up intelligence gathering effort in Iraq and began working with Iraq's Dulaimis, a large, mostly Sunni Arab tribe, some of whose members were then closely tied to the insurgency, to gather information about anyone associating with Zarqawi or others in militant groups. Jordan created a new intelligence unit, and it

was designed to hunt down hostile terrorists, and particularly the Zarqawi network outside of Jordan.<sup>46</sup>

In April 2006 when Zarqawi showed up in a highly publicized online propaganda video boasting of his group's prowess, Jordanian analysts scrutinized the surrounding scenery as well as his blustery talk. The tape confirmed suspicions that Zarqawi was in the Yousifiya area, a volatile insurgent stronghold south of Baghdad, which became the focus of U.S. and Jordanian intelligence efforts, throughout the spring. U.S. military officials, too, publicly identified the area south of Baghdad as a likely Zarqawi stronghold. As a result of these developments, more intelligence resources were devoted to Yousifiya. Jordanian familiarity with the region and intelligence networks played a key role in monitoring Zarqawi's movements there.

Once it became clear that the Yousifiya information was accurate, the Jordanians became more confident of their sources. Then when information was received about Zarqawi being in the Baqubah area, northeast of Baghdad, they were confident of that as well. They started to pinpoint his exact location with the Americans. With the permission of Iraq's fledgling government, Jordanian operatives flooded the war-torn country, cultivating informants and working the periphery of the Zarqawi network to find ways into the organization.<sup>47</sup> Jordanian security and intelligence authorities were involved in the hunt from the start, helping trace locations at which Zarqawi and his group frequently stayed. This information was vital input for the planning that led to a U.S. airstrike resulting in Zarqawi's death on June 7, 2007.<sup>48</sup>

The government of Jordan also moved forward on several other high-profile al-Qaida related terrorism cases: In February 2006, the State Security Court sentenced

nine men to hang for the 2004 plot to carry out a chemical/vehicle-borne explosive attack against the U.S. embassy and government of Jordan targets. By April 2004, the Jordanian leadership was making its own view of al-Qaeda clear by sentencing eight terrorists to death for the October 2002 assassination of USAID officer Lawrence Foley. Six of militants, including Zarqawi, were sentenced to death in absentia at that time.<sup>49</sup> On March 11, 2006 Jordanian authorities executed Libyan national Yasser Saad bin Suway, who was one of these terrorists. In September 2006, the State Security Court sentenced seven terrorist plotters to hang, including would-be suicide bomber Sajidah al-Rishawi, for the November 2005 Amman hotel bombings. The King must review and approve the death warrant before the executions can take place. In September, the Court sentenced Omar Jamil Nazzal al-Khalayleh, a cousin of the late terrorist Abu Musab al-Zarqawi, to six months in prison for planning to recruit fighters in Syria to fight against U.S. and Iraqi forces in Iraq. On December 7, 2006, Ali Muhammad Hasan al-Sahli was sentenced to death, and Abd-al- Rahman Ismai'l and Samih al-Nubani to two years in prison, for their roles in the August 2005 rocket attack against U.S. naval vessels visiting the port of Aqaba.

The government of Jordan has also moved forward on several non-al-Qaida-related terrorism cases. In the first quarter of 2006, the State Security Court sentenced Abdullah al-Mrayat and seven men from the Horani cell to prison for recruiting fighters for operations against U.S. and Iraqi government forces in Iraq. In March and September 2006, the State Security Court sentenced four members of the Qteishat cell and six members of the Khattab Brigade for plotting attacks against hotels, liquor stores, tourist sites, and security officers. In October, the Court found eight Mansurah cell

militants guilty of plotting to kill American and Iraqi trainers at the Jordan International Police Training Center, and in November 2006, the court sentenced five men from the Khalid Mohammad cell to prison for planning attacks against Israel. And in December 2006, the Court sentenced three men to prison for attempting to join Iraqi insurgents. The Jordanian government enforced security measures at each of its ports of entry, including thorough manual and electromagnetic searches of vehicles and persons attempting to enter Jordan through the Karama-Trebil border crossing in the West Bank.

*Treaties and Conventions Relating to Combating Terrorism.* Jordan was one of the first countries to warn of the danger of terrorism on global security and stability and called for fighting it as well as participating in formulating relative agreements, on the Arab and international levels. Jordan is party to seven international treaties relevant to combating terrorism: The Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of Crimes Against Internationally Protected Persons, Including Diplomatic Agents, - The International Convention Against the Taking of Hostages, The Convention on Offences and Certain other Acts Committed Onboard Aircraft, The Convention for the suppression of Unlawful Seizure of Aircraft, The Convention for the Suppression of Unlawful Acts Against the Safety of Civil Aviation, The Protocol for the Suppression of Unlawful Acts of Violence at Airports serving International Civil Aviation, and The Convention on the Marking of Plastic Explosives for the Purpose of Detection.<sup>50</sup>

*The Religious Dimension.* Islam is based on compassion, justice, love, and freedom. The Islamic religion is opposes any unacceptable social behavior, and in conjunction with the government Islam promotes the rule of God's law. Additionally, Islam forbids acts of injustice against its followers and corruption in the country. There is

no doubt that the circumstances surrounding today's terrorist movements and the emergence of violence in Islamic societies in particular creates an unhealthy and dangerous environment. Islamic society deplores violence, extremism, and terrorist acts. To deter or eliminate these phenomena calls for cooperation in order to eliminate terrorist manifestations. Jordan has taken substantial measures in this field.

Jordan stresses the need to confront all ill motivated attempts which aim to connect Islam with terrorism, and at holding Arabs and Muslims responsible for terror attacks or for any other form of international terrorism. In this regard, Jordan maintains that terrorism is a global phenomenon and that its causes and motivations are religiously and culturally neutral. Jordan views terrorism as defying the teachings of Islam and the culture of modern society. Islam is not only a religion but also a way of life, where the principles of tolerance and dialogue prevail. The bond between religion and peace should be strengthened as a key for eradicating fundamentalism. His Majesty the Late King Hussein once said,

Terrorism is not the ultimate sacrifice. The killing of innocent people is not Jihad. Jihad in the service of faith requires respect for human life, and respect for treaties and charters. Islam strictly forbids the killing of civilians.<sup>51</sup>

Jordanians believe that the attempt to confuse the West between terrorism and Islam is amazing since terrorism combines the killing, injury, injustice and intimidation of innocent people. Jordan's keenness to work on denying the phenomenon of terrorism attempting to link its self to Islam through political movement active at the Arab level and Islamic and international levels. In this light, Jordan was the first country to bring attention to the issue of terrorism falsely linking itself to Islamic religion and the role of His Majesty King Abdullah II has been important in clarifying the picture to Western

public opinion by issuing a document (Amman Message). His Majesty King Abdullah II, during an interview with Israel channel's 2 Ehud Yaari, on March 7, 2005, said:

The reason for the Amman Message was to identify throughout the Islamic world and also to the West this is what Islam means, this is what our tenets, this is what our beliefs. All those that take the lives of innocent people that live on destruction and hatred they have nothing to do with it. Then in a fact or in a way the word extremist is wrong. You can't be a Muslim extremist or Christian extremist or Jewish extremist because if you are Jewish, Christian or Muslim you believe in the rule of God and that does not allow you to do the crimes that these extremists do. So what we're trying to say is get the moderate majority of Muslims to stand up and say this is what's right and this is what's wrong.<sup>52</sup>

The Amman Message started as a detailed statement released the eve of the 27th of Ramadan 1425 AH / 9th November 2004 CE by H.M. King Abdullah II bin Al-Hussein in Amman, Jordan. It sought to explain Islam's position on terrorism and underscore its innocence. It also directed the embassies and diplomatic missions to carry out its tasks on this issue by declaring what Islam is and what it is not, and what actions represent it and what actions do not. Its goal was to clarify to the modern world the true nature of Islam. It is a historical achievement; it will be implemented through various pragmatic measures, including: Treaties among Muslim states, national and international legislation using the Three Points of the Amman Message to define Islam, The use of publishing and multi-media in all their aspects to spread the Amman Message, Instituting the teaching of the Amman Message in school curricula and university courses worldwide, and making it part of the training of mosque Imams and making sure it is included in their sermons.<sup>53</sup>

In April 2006, Prince Ghazi bin Mohammad inaugurated the 17th annual Fiqh Academy Conference -- a three-day conference on Islamic doctrine. Prince Ghazi delivered a speech on behalf of King Abdullah calling on Muslims "to work honestly and

seriously to eradicate terrorism and expose misguided thought.” Jordan confronted and combated terrorism through transnational educational institutions through playing a prominent and effective role in providing the agreed values, attitudes, information, and experiences in helping develop students’ abilities and skills. That starts with the family and transcends through the school system.

### Implications for the Region

The Middle East region is undergoing profound political, economic and social changes. In addition to the central conflict-resolution issue of Israel and the Palestinians, these dynamics pose serious challenges especially after 9/11 and in the context of the campaign against terrorism. The source of terrorism in the region is not a single issue.

In addition to bin Laden’s attempts to employ terrorism to radicalize the Islamic world, there are a multitude of unresolved factors which help to provide a fertile breeding ground for extremism and terrorism including lack of political participation, the need for economic and political reform, and other broad human rights issues. How successfully the United States deals with these issues will affect the ability to prosecute the campaign against terrorism. It will also undercut the ability of secular and religious extremists to exploit these tensions for their own purposes.

Addressing the Israeli-Palestinian conflict will assist the United States in its strategic standing with moderate regional states by promoting regional stability. This is also important in the longer-term because a perceived constructive role of the United States in the Middle East will serve to undercut extremism, and diminish the opportunities for extremists to exploit the situation for their own political ends. Positive

and effective U.S. leadership is important not only because the United States has a clear national interest in promoting a just and lasting Israeli-Palestinian peace, but also because the United States needs to engage moderate states in the region (Egypt, Jordan and the GCC states) in efforts to combat terrorism and proliferation of weapons of mass destruction.

### Recommendations

The Jordanian policy on the War on Terrorism is clear, and there is no doubt that Jordan is exerting great efforts at the local, regional and international levels in countering terrorism. Jordan is using various means and ways to fight terrorism. The following recommendations are distinctive and effective is to achieve security and stability, and will enhance the firm position of Jordan against terrorism.

1. Countries combating terrorism should open all channels of communication among people to include television, radio, newspapers, and public lectures. Mosques need to be one of the central channels of communications. Intellectuals and moderates who fully understand the true Religion of Islam need to explain the concepts and thoughts on which the religion is based. This will help to clarify misunderstandings and help prevent opportunists from increasing the membership in extremist movements, by eliminating those who espouse violence in their sermons. Such steps will not result in successful implementation without the serious involvement of the state authority. This will definitely lead to the clarification between the true meaning of Islam and radical extremism.

2. Knowing the true freedom in Islam is also a part of fighting terrorism. Freedom in Islam is guaranteed, but with control. While there is freedom, it does not allow

individuals to express their personal beliefs that are different from the true meaning of Islam or provide a wrong interpretation to the public through various channels of communications. Extremism favors an overly strict interpretation of Islam. On the other end of the spectrum are those who are overly secular in their interpretation of governance in the Islamic world. It is my recommendation that the world needs to take a centrist or moderate view between these two extremes in order to prosper and end the turmoil throughout the region.

3. Many actions from extremists in the world are driven by what they believe, and wrong behavior can come out of wrong beliefs. To resolve the issues we cannot use force, physical or psychological pressure to change people's beliefs. This will lead to only a short term result and that person will revert to old ways when the appropriate opportunity arises. This situation can be treated only through meaningful dialogue and education. To be successful we will need to choose qualified, well respected individuals who are skilled at the art of communication and persuasion to re-educate and convert those extremists who have been led down the wrong path of Islamic beliefs.

4. Governments need to develop programs that can harness the energy of youth, and give them an outlet to work and become valued assets of the community. These programs need to provide meaningful training and work for individuals to prepare them for life, but just as important, give them self-worth. In addition to training and work, the government needs to develop programs that provide a social outlet such as camps, sports, and other activities that could be utilized to communicate to youths the importance of community and society in developing a prosperous future for themselves and their children. This should be encouraged through charity fund-raising and

distributing alms to the poor and needy and through sports, youth trips and camps.

Youthful energy that is unfilled in good work is filled with bad behavior and should be taken into account in developing activities for the youth.

5. There is also a need to develop a program to ensure preachers and religious scholars can spread their knowledge and reach out to all levels of the community especially the youth sector. Furthermore, develop a program where the government allots a moderate preacher to provide legitimate and true information to further knowledge and to mitigate events in each region. This individual needs to be accepted by young people, to act as reference to them in order remove any suspicion in the young people minds.

6. Enhancing and maintaining security by using all kind of means is also important. The scientific and technical development of the capacities of the security services to prevent and resist terrorist operations must continue to progress. Strengthening the dominance of law, respect for human rights and effective criminal justice systems, while improving the protection of vulnerable targets remains vital. The dismantling and destruction of the infrastructure supporting terrorism and the prosecution of suspects are also important. Ensuring the required protection of the regional and international vital interests since it is one of the main objectives for terrorist organizations. It is also vital to inform international public opinion regarding important security issues when controlling any terrorist organization so they will be familiar with the serious goals which affect the lives of citizens.

7. Border security is another pressing need. Jordan is located in a very high tension area. That needs a very high level of border control and security, which can be

achieved through different security measures, including the increased training of border control personnel. There is also a need to enhance the effectiveness of border controls using modern long-distance equipment which will detect and monitor suspects in order to prevent any illegal infiltration or smuggling. In the event of a cross-border operation such equipment when supported by a modern communications network will be especially effective in containing the incident.

8. International efforts should continue to find just solutions to solve all the problems in the world through peaceful means, especially the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, and the establishment of an independent Palestinian state on the Palestinian territories living in peace side by side. That will deny terrorists from taking this conflict as a pretext for their atrocities. The United States roles as a superpower is essential and central in resolving the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, especially as they sponsor the peace process and support the two-States solution.

### Conclusion

Terrorism is a global phenomenon, driven by distortive ideology and experienced by many nations. The world is suffering as a result of this phenomenon. Terrorism is being used as a political tool by some groups. Unfortunately the target for the recent violence is innocent people who just want to live a peaceful life. The terrorists, who commit horrible crimes when they kill innocent people, destroy property and demolish social infrastructure, are trying to influence the world in a negative way. This influence has led to a blending of social and political concepts of terrorism which spread at the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. The international community is not able to agree on a single definition for terrorism, and all organizations that have been convicted or charged with

terrorist activities have always justified their activities by using pretexts such as a liberation war, a struggle against the occupation or self-defense. Terrorism's effects are not limited to a specific individual or identifiable group; its impact goes beyond to include the entire community. International cooperation is essential combating terrorism.

Jordan, which has suffered from terrorism, has played a significant role in the fight against terrorism in many different dimensions. Jordan has adopted a clear policy based on an information network, good relations, joint cooperation and exchange of information at the regional and international level. This approach empowers the Jordanian security service to hunt terrorists and had shown the world the credibility of Jordan to oppose terrorist groups on their territories, which has led to an increase in achieving citizen's security and stability.

The Amman Message is a solid attempt to show that Islam has no relations with terrorism and terrorism does not belong to any religion or race or land. It is focused on Islam as a religion of tolerance, justice, equality and mercy. Jordan, its citizens, officials and interests have been a target of terrorism due to its principled position and effort in rejecting and combating all forms of terrorism. Jordan will continue to fight terrorism and its perpetrators with all possible means. Security and stability are the country's top priority and no terrorist individual or organization will be tolerated. Jordan takes the view that resorting to military means will not be enough to uproot international terrorism. Economic and social factors and other root causes for this abhorrent phenomenon need to be taken into consideration and to be sufficiently addressed in order to fully eradicate terrorism.

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